

**Brokering Intercultural Relations in the Rainbow Nation:
Introducing Intercultural Marketing**

Forthcoming in the Journal of Macromarketing, Special Issue 'Macromarketing in the African Context: Past, Present, and the Future'

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We thank the Special Issue Editors and three anonymous reviewers for their insightful recommendations on developing this manuscript.

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Abstract

This paper considers the role of marketing in building intercultural relations in superdiverse, post-colonial societies, using post-apartheid South Africa as a case study. Drawing on neo-institutional theory, we analyze South African advertising campaigns to determine how marketing brokers intercultural relations by legitimizing social meanings conveyed through nation-building ideologies and consumers' lived experiences. We examine whether marketing outputs align with stages of Rainbow Nation-building strategies and types of consumers' lived experiences of South Africa's superdiversity. We then derive a conceptualization of intercultural marketing, which we characterize as an approach focused on brokering meanings of convivial intercultural engagement and collective development of societal welfare goals. We contribute to macromarketing theory, directing attention to the important brokering role marketing has, in bridging conceptions of reconciliatory social development held by public policy makers and by societies' populations. By conceptualizing intercultural marketing, its goals and tools, we contribute to multiculturally-sensitive marketing research and practice advancement.

Keywords: intercultural marketing; multicultural marketplaces; neo-institutional theory; post-colonial societies; intercultural relations; conviviality.

Introduction

One significant fallout of post-colonial development in Africa is intercultural tensions between groups descending from the colonizers and the colonized. Governmental approaches addressing these tensions vary across nations. Some opt for radical, non-amicable solutions – such as the Land Reform policy in Zimbabwe (BBC News 2018). Others, such as South Africa (Dickow and Møller 2002), embark on peaceful tension resolution through establishing ideologies wherein all cultural groups are equal citizens. This paper aims to examine marketing's role in such resolutionary discourses to build convivial intercultural relations in post-colonial societies, using post-apartheid South Africa (SA) as a case study.

Rainbow Nation (RN) is the main socio-political ideology adopted by SA's government for nation-building following dismantlement of the apartheid regime (Bornman 2011; Petzer and De Meyer 2013). RN ideology is underpinned by the principles of inclusivity for all cultural groups and building communities where their diversity is recognized and respected (Stewart and Ivala 2017). In line with RN ideology, SA legislation encouraged marketers to cater to all consumers in the marketplace (Sallaz 2010).

Establishment of nation-building strategies requires widespread communication, resulting – from a macromarketing perspective – in marketers adopting, through the representations they create in communications, a role of brokers between the government's strategies and citizens' lived experiences (Petzer and De Meyer 2013). Cultural and marketing studies highlight that marketing communications played a crucial role in guiding consumers through the ideological transitions of SA's cultural landscape (Petzer and De Meyer 2013; Wasserman 2009). According to Evans (2010, p. 319), media and marketing efforts in post-apartheid SA shaped discourses and practices regarding the breaking down of intercultural barriers by “popularizing the new Rainbow Nation

identity”. Hence, while endeavoring to profitably engage with a multicultural market whose evolution reflects the country’s socio-political transition, marketing translates nation-building discourses of intercultural reconciliation and people’s lived experiences into representations by showing the personal and/or social relevance of a product/service offering.

Problematically, consumer discontent with marketing efforts to engage with and depict RN as a lived experience is growing. While SA marketers attempt to engage with multiple cultural segments through inclusive communication campaigns, representations often remain stereotypical and are perceived as discriminatory by consumers. For example, consumers increasingly voice dismay with depictions of Black people dancing for everything from tea to cellular signal (Dayimani 2015). Although the cultural insensitivity of stereotyped portrayals and consumers’ frustration with them are not unique to SA, this discontent often results in particularly inflammatory outcomes in SA. For instance, H&M’s recent portrayal of a Black child wearing a shirt with ‘coolest monkey in the jungle’ on the front provoked global backlash (Stack 2018), but elicited a more extreme response in some SA consumer spheres. Over two weeks, the protest grew from consumers commenting on Twitter to ransacking of H&M’s stores (Hosie 2018). Thus, while potentially featuring SA’s cultural diversity, current marketing does not appear to have succeeded in aligning with consumer expectations and experiences of multicultural living together in the RN. This poses an important question for macromarketing research concerning how marketing practice impacts intercultural relations.

This paper examines development of SA marketing in relation to the evolution of RN-building strategies and lived realities of a post-colonial, superdiverse society where individuals and groups negotiate a ‘living together context’ (Zapata-Barrero 2015). Drawing on neo-institutional theory (Scott 2008), and literature on RN (Barnett 1999; Dickow and Møller 2002;

Evans 2010) and sociology of superdiversity (Meissner and Vertovec 2015; Morris, Chiu, and Liu 2015), we distinguish three historical stages of this evolution whereby regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive components of intercultural relations assume different prominence. We consider the extent to which marketing strategies align to reflect these stages, by conducting a systematic review and critical visual analysis of SA's top brands' advertising campaigns representing intercultural relations between 1994 – 2018. The findings offer an analytical map depicting the interplay between the ideological and lived facets of intercultural relations in post-colonial SA. The map highlights that for marketers to serve as brokers between ideological agendas and lived experiences of intercultural relations in superdiverse societies, a new approach to marketing strategy is necessary. We develop a conceptualization of intercultural marketing as a strategy focused on brokering meanings of convivial intercultural engagement and collective development of social welfare goals, and articulate its goals and tools.

This paper offers three contributions to macromarketing and multicultural marketplaces literature. First, we direct attention to the important dialogical interface for reconciliatory social development that marketing plays between policy makers and society. Given rising intercultural tensions across many contemporary societies, delineating marketers' role as brokers of intercultural relations contributes towards a macromarketing focus on the role of marketing in enhancing quality of life within marketplaces (Cross, Harrison, and Gilly 2017; Kennedy 2016; Saatcioglu and Corus 2018). Second, by introducing a conceptualization of intercultural marketing grounded in a post-colonial, superdiverse society that is further advanced than most of the world's nations in reconciling intercultural tensions in nation-building, we offer a theory that highlights and explicates the need for advancing marketing strategies of multicultural representation beyond the current status quo. Given the predominantly western standpoint of extant marketing theory,

our conceptual grounding asserts the importance of studying non-western contexts for theory advancement in general and for developing sustainable marketing practice catering for superdiverse communities in particular (Harrison, Thomas, and Cross 2017; Olivotti 2016; Touzani, Hirschman, and Smaoui 2016). Third, by positing intercultural marketing as a strategy approach recognizing the value of unity in superdiversity, we highlight the role of marketing in facilitating conviviality and synergistic welfare in multicultural marketplaces. Given calls for multiculturally-sensitive marketing to enhance well-being in multicultural marketplaces (Demangeot et al. 2019; Kipnis et al. 2019; Visconti et al. 2014), conceptualization of intercultural marketing goals and tools and examination of their applications contribute to the development of marketing research and practice that can meaningfully drive equality, diversity and inclusion norms and empower consumers towards convivial intercultural relations.

Literature Background

Extant research indicates that a key driver of consumer frustration with marketer efforts to act as catalysts of social transformation is the perceived disingenuity of marketing as a social function (Heath, Cluley, and O'Malley 2017; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). In the context of addressing multiple consumer segments, some consumers can perceive marketing's tactics and mechanisms – such as campaigns including multiple cultural groups – as a self-serving, tokenistic means of meeting the onus of political correctness and/or commercial objectives of corporations rather than a sincere engagement with diversity agenda for cultivating a multiculturally-inclusive society (Harrison, Thomas, and Cross 2017; Johnson 2013; Licsandru and Cui 2018). Hence, operating in culturally heterogeneous markets delivers two major challenges for marketing: pressure to return on investment despite restricted budgets (Sinkovics 2016); and an expectation to genuinely and competently engage with and reflect the marketplace's social agenda (Kennedy 2016).

Engaging with cultural diversity is a necessary condition for marketing to maintain relevance with consumer audiences who increasingly expect accurate reflections of their complex multicultural realities (Cross and Gilly 2017). Such engagement, when perceived genuine, is rewarding for marketers and their corporate stakeholders. For example, L’Oreal Paris *True Match* UK campaign far exceeded targets of owning a majority market share and converting critics to brand advocates. McCann London, the agency that developed the campaign, attributes this success to the campaign’s ‘inclusive’ approach (e.g. being the first beauty brand in the UK to feature a male beauty blogger and a hijab wearing female entrepreneur – Roderick 2017; Stratfest 2017). Simultaneously, many marketing efforts to engage with different cultural groups are unsuccessful and sometimes backfire: in the USA, Shea Moisture alienated their loyal base of mainly Black consumers and received widespread backlash for *HairHate* campaign that featured predominantly White women (Reed 2017).

Organizations have much to gain or lose when engaging with cultural diversity via their communications. L’Oreal’s *True Match* was hailed as breaking down racial barriers (Nouril 2016), while Shea Moisture’s existing customers boycotted the brand following ‘whitewashing’ *HairHate*, necessitating a follow-up PR campaign, *RealTalk*, engaging consumers in discussions to address the brand’s failing (Reed 2017). Hence, while we still know relatively little about the factors contributing to (non)favorable consumer responses to marketing attempts to engage with diversity, macro implications of these actions warrant a critical examination and theoretical development to understand how marketing can strategically and successfully become diversity-aligned. Problematically, the few studies addressing this gap have not explicitly considered how post-colonial contexts might limit the applicability of theories developed in western contexts, leaving open the questions of these theories’ context-sensitivity and subsequent potential impact

on nation-building (Sheth 2011; Whetten 2009). Some have predominantly situated both theoretical and empirical aspects of inquiries in non-colonial (Demangeot et al., 2019; Visconti 2008) or industrialized (Cross and Gilly 2017; Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013) contexts; others have transferred the theories developed in these contexts to underpin inquiries in post-colonial contexts (Johnson, Elliot, and Grier 2010; Johnson and Grier 2011; Olivotti 2016). Because research stemming from emerging contexts can provide insights into how marketing shapes diverse societies for theory and social policy development to pursue “inclusive growth, sustainability and purpose” (Sheth 2011, p.179), SA represents a particularly apt post-colonial context to study the role of marketing in brokering intercultural relations.

Theoretical Framework

Neo-Institutional Theory

Prior studies highlight neo-institutional theory (NIT) as an attractive lens for understanding marketing’s interplay with the socio-cultural processes and actions as advanced, negotiated and/or contested by different social actors through consumption (Cross, Harrison, and Gilly 2017; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). This interplay is essential to examine when considering the role of marketing in social life, as marketing engages with and conveys discourses emerging both ‘top-down’ (e.g., at macro-levels of societies, such as socio-political ideologies, principles of governance) and ‘bottom-up’ (e.g., at micro-levels of societies, such as lived social realities of communities). To derive theoretical understanding of marketing’s role in bridging nation-building strategies and the lived realities of individuals and groups negotiating a ‘living together context’ (Zapata-Barrero 2015) in superdiverse societies, we draw on NIT.

NIT regards institutions as entrenched social processes guiding behavior, while acknowledging individuals' ability to alter or diminish institutions (Cherrier and Guirrieri 2014). Thus, organizations and their marketplace strategies and actions are shaped by external environment pressures and changes, while also taking part in the (re)construction of social reality (Chaney and Ben Slimane 2014). NIT grounding enables development of "marketing strategy through the three pillars of institutions" (Chaney, Ben Slimane, and Humphreys 2016, p.19), namely the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars (Scott 2008). Legitimacy, defined as institutionalization of meanings and norms concerning social life, needs to be achieved across all pillars to gain acceptance in a given marketplace (Scaroboto and Fischer 2013; Scott 2008). Regulative legitimacy represents acceptance and monitored adherence to established formal rules; normative legitimacy relates to the adoption of norms that prescribe and appraise behavior; and cultural-cognitive legitimacy encompasses development of the value systems that determine the essence of a given meaning in people's lived experiences (Cross and Gilly 2017; Cross, Harrison, and Gilly 2017; Scott 2008).

Through the legitimacy concept, NIT also captures the dynamic relationship between organizations and consumers or citizens (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2011). Legitimization is manifested through consumer responses to marketing's outputs (product/service provision, PR and advertising efforts) and dynamics of meanings and interactions on consumers' lived level (Chaney and Ben Slimane 2014; Chaney, Ben Slimane, and Humphreys 2016). As King and Pearce (2010) show, consumer influence can drive fundamental changes to markets, as for example in the case of the deinstitutionalization of plastic bags in favor of recyclable bags (Cherrier and Guirrieri 2014).

Hence, marketers can be viewed as capturing and managing meanings that shape consumer experiences. Furthermore, because consumers negotiate the meanings conveyed through

marketing efforts and may accept or reject them in consumption practices, they partake in the co-creation of these meanings (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2010). The process of consumers' input to meanings' co-creation can take a variety of forms, ranging from passive indifference to active support or opposition (buycotting vs boycotting – Lekakis 2015; positive vs critical commenting/reviews/complaints via both brands' own and wider social media platforms – Kozinets et al. 2010; consumer-led use of meanings created by brands in different contexts, such as memes, or changes to meanings created by brands, such as Tumblr users' changing images of Elsa the Snow Queen to depicting her with non-white skin color – Visconti et al. 2014; participation in brand communities – Muniz and O'Guinn 2001).

Importantly, in the context of institutionalizing complex and multi-faceted social meanings such as cultural diversity, consumers increasingly demand ongoing effort by brands and organizations to maintain cultural-cognitive legitimacy. In particular, consumers' expectations of brands' engagement with cultural diversity are evolving beyond a call for recognition and representation (for instance, Hispanic consumer groups - Peñaloza 1994), to influencing representations' meanings for greater accuracy (for instance, backlashes against stereotyped representations of ethnic minorities – Mahtani 2001, people with disabilities – Kearney, Brittain, and Kipnis 2019, gay people – Tsai 2011).

NIT is therefore well suited to study the socio-political trajectory of nation-building ideology and the socio-cultural trajectory of meanings related to people's lived experience in a superdiverse nation. In the next section, we theorize the position of marketers as brokers of social meanings regarding intercultural relations, responsible for maintaining their alignment with both ideological and lived levels of the superdiverse marketplace.

Marketers as Brokers of Intercultural Relations

Cultural meanings conveyed by marketers can simultaneously generate legitimizing and delegitimizing consumer responses as a manifestation of the macro-contexts of intercultural relations in a given marketplace (Veresiu and Giesler 2018). Meanings aligned with values, norms and symbols characteristic of particular cultural groups reflected in targeted advertising appeals (Johnson and Grier 2011; Kipnis et al. 2013), store offerings or spectacles (Regany and Emontspool 2017) and exposure to consumption practices (Luedicke 2015) can evoke delegitimizing responses from both: a) target consumer groups who may interpret these marketing actions as insincere ‘quick-fix’ attempts to gain their custom without advancing their marketplace and social inclusion (Licsandru and Cui 2018; Regany and Emontspool 2017); and b) non-target consumer groups who feel alienated and contest the legitimacy of these meanings due to concerns over the “crumbling of their [culture] authority” (Luedicke 2015, p.109). Conversely, the availability of offerings catering to cultural diversity stimulates the legitimization of meanings and practices associated with a given culture represented in a marketplace or of new meanings and practices (for example, synthesized food practices of intercultural families - Rogan, Piacentini, and Hopkinson 2018). When integrating offerings associated with meanings significant to their background and shared cultural practices, consumers enact a context of ‘shared understanding’ (Cross and Gilly 2017).

To engage with multiple, co-existing cultural meanings and remain relevant, marketers need to act as representational brokers who facilitate cultural-cognitive legitimization of ‘shared understanding’. As brokers, marketers can also support the positive evolution of intercultural relations by establishing and/or normalizing meanings reflecting living together in consumption culture (Cross, Harrison, and Gilly 2017). Importantly, marketing’s mere alignment with the nation-building strategy at the socio-political level does not attain the reconciliatory nation-

building goals if it is misaligned with individual, lived level experiences, impeding the desired outcome of (socio-cultural) change. Butcher and Harris (2010) note that nation-building requires a convergence of meanings, experiences and expectations conceived and expressed at both macro and micro levels of social organization. Hence, for marketers to broker intercultural relations, an all-encompassing understanding is needed of how intercultural relations are envisioned socio-politically and lived socio-culturally.

Forms of Lived Experiences of Superdiversity

A majority of contemporary societies are classified as ‘superdiverse’ (Vertovec 2007), signifying constant co-presence of multiple cultural value systems (Appadurai 1990). While superdiversity is a characteristic many societies share, it can have different origins and lifespans. In most western societies (although not the USA), it is still relatively new, based on recent globalized migration (Demangeot et al. 2015); in post-colonial contexts (e.g., SA), intra-national diversity stems from colonization (Bornman 2011).

Intercultural relations stances within superdiverse societies can be either confrontational (Zimbabwe) or reconciliatory (SA). Hence, how marketers address superdiversity ‘in context’ is likely to contribute to the legitimization or delegitimization of specific intercultural relations. Research streams examining how people conceive and experience living together in a superdiverse society emerged across urban (Meissner and Vertovec 2015; Zapata-Barerro 2015), cultural (Harris 2009; Wise and Velayutham 2014), marketing (Demangeot et al., 2019; Kipnis et al. 2013) and psychology (Morris, Chiu, and Liu 2015; Rosenthal and Levy 2012) studies. These point to three forms of lived experience within a superdiverse context that shape intercultural relations as well as engagement with/expectations towards cultural meanings discerned from the marketplace

offerings and interactions, which we label *acknowledgement*, *acceptance* and *conviviality*. We briefly elaborate on each form next.

Morris, Chiu, and Liu (2015) show that socio-psychological studies of cultural diversity were initially focused on *acknowledgement* of cultural difference, giving a presence to previously marginalized groups. However, acknowledgement was not sufficient improvement of the lived experience for these groups' members (Morris, Chiu, and Liu 2015; Zapata-Barrero 2015). Individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds strive for equal social acceptance by advocating for recognition and accommodation in product and service provision, equality in workplace, and consumer rights (Liscandru and Cui 2018).

Thus, lived experiences of superdiversity evolved from a need for initial acknowledgement to a need for *acceptance*, influencing development of the notion of (and research into) multiculturalism – a stance concerned with not only recognizing but also valuing cultural diversity while preserving purity of cultural traditions and codes (Harris 2009; Morris, Chiu, and Liu 2015). Because adopting a multiculturalism stance necessitates shared approaches to intercultural relations, studies focused on policies aimed at facilitating learning about other cultures; advancing equality of all cultural groups; and creating inclusive environments where deeper understanding and appreciation of cultural differences can develop (Rosenthal and Levy 2012).

Finally, a most recent stream of research advances the concept of *conviviality* – conceptions and spaces of intercultural camaraderie and engagement as a superdiverse community, emerging from individuals continuously interacting with and negotiating a multiplicity of cultural codes and experiences in daily living (Harris 2016; Meissner and Vertovec 2015; Noble 2013). Importantly, the notion of conviviality emerges from investigations into the complexity of living superdiversity as an experience and managing superdiversity as a societal strategy (Wessendorf 2014; Wise

2011), pointing to the importance of appreciating and leveraging the interplay between different levels where ‘living together’ can be conceived (i.e., socio-political ‘ideological’ level and socio-cultural ‘lived experience’ level). A recent study by the University of Pretoria shows that 46% of SA’s population report less concern with race than working together towards addressing living needs, such as job creation and poverty reduction (Tswana 2017). This highlights that on the lived level, the RN has possibly moved towards the *conviviality* conception, indicative of conceiving intercultural relations as a concerted, ‘synergistic’ effort to improve SA’s societal welfare.

Nascent research (Cross and Gilly 2017; Cross, Harrison, and Gilly 2017; Noble 2013) indicates an important gap in knowledge about discrepancies between the meanings associated with ‘living together’ conceived at ideological versus lived levels of superdiverse societies, and the processes underlying these discrepancies’ emergence. Thus, marketing strategy development should be triangulated and connected to both socio-political nation-building discourses on intercultural relations and socio-cultural conceptions, expectations and experiences of living together, to achieve cultural-cognitive legitimacy. To consider the alignment of the socio-cultural shift of lived experiences of superdiversity (from *acknowledgment* to *acceptance* and *conviviality*) against SA’s socio-political nation-building strategy, we outline stages of RN’s development next.

Ideological Stages of Rainbow Nation Development

Literature on media depictions of SA socio-political developments (Cornelissen 2012; Dickow and Møller 2002; Petzer and De Meyer 2013) identifies three stages in development of the RN ideology which can be termed: *reconciliation*, *foundation*, and *welfare*, based on their intended outcome. These stages are considered to be largely institutionalized through discourses and meanings depicted in media and marketing communications (Evans 2010).

The *reconciliation* stage's main aim was to garner support for the RN ideology as a means of establishing and normalizing reconciliation between cultural groups (Barnett 1999; Dickow and Møller 2002). After the first democratic elections in 1994, government sought political acceptance from citizens through “belief in the ‘rainbow nation’ ideal [to boost] optimism and [promote] happiness” (Dickow and Møller 2002, p.175). The second *foundation* stage focused on economic delivery of the RN, which required people's buy-in into ongoing development of the society (Cornelissen 2012). Such focus meant that “rather than nation-building being imagined in South Africa as a primarily symbolic, cultural project, it needed to be understood as a project of institutional transformation” (Barnett 1999, p. 297). The third *welfare* stage emphasizes building of well-being in RN, requiring saliency of happiness, optimism and life satisfaction (Dickow and Møller 2002; Tswana 2017). A stage in progress, *welfare* is envisioned as institutionalizing RN as a “participatory democracy [combined with] decision-making that presupposes widespread access to the basic means of communication” (Barnett 1999, p. 274).

Concurrently, studies indicate that SA citizens do not consider the *foundation* stage of ‘economic delivery’ as successful, and are no longer content in passively waiting for improvements to their lived realities. Instead, they take on a more active role in defining and co-creating these improvements through such bottom-up actions as “civic campaigning” for better service delivery, spurred on by perceived failure of bodies implementing ideologies to meet individual and community needs (Cornelissen 2012, p. 328). The impact of this bottom-up delegitimization of the *foundation* stage of RN-building is significant for actors setting and/or conveying the top-down ideological level agenda, including marketers. Consumer discontent in portrayals of the RN as a marketplace functioning on the basis of recognizing (*acknowledgement*) and serving (*acceptance*) all cultural groups is increasing, alongside calls for intercultural

camaraderie (*conviviality*), exemplified by Tswanya's (2017) remark: "The media and government still use [race as if it is] an important thing but...South Africans would rather fight for things that matter".

The increasing mobilization of SA civic society's for active participation in building the RN (Dickow and Møller 2002) signifies the importance of aligning RN-building discourses with lived level expectations. In marketing terms, it points to a need to examine whether and how marketing strategies align with the evolution of lived level conceptions of RN superdiversity, since this alignment is necessary for achieving cultural-cognitive legitimacy and participating in establishing the social norm(s) concerned with SA's living together contexts (Chaney, Ben Slimane, and Humphreys 2016). To correctly translate RN-building discourses on intercultural relations, marketers, as brokers of the meanings attributed to 'living together' between socio-political nation-building ideologies and consumers' socio-cultural experiences, need to connect conceptions and expectations of the RN between these levels.

Based on theorizing above, it can be expected that marketing representations of the RN have similarly evolved in three phases, serving different functions and thus requiring different strategic approaches. Figure 1 represents the expected evolution of marketing's brokering role between the different stages of RN-building and the different forms of lived experiences of superdiversity. This proposition guided our exploratory study, conducted to examine marketing strategies and actions in representing nation-building discourses and lived experiences of the RN over the period of its development (1994-2018).

[ADD FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Method

South African Marketplace

The SA marketplace is a revelatory case for several reasons. First, even though the White cultural groups (English and Afrikaans) make up only 8.1% of the population (Statistics South Africa 2016) they still hold the economic majority in terms of spending power (Kajee 2011). This is due to the apartheid system – a White supremacist regime that segregated and oppressed all Non-White cultural groups for a large part of the twentieth century (Johnson and Jacobs 2011). However, even though Whites still hold the economic majority, marketing efforts are no longer heavily skewed towards them – a significant shift attributed to abolishment of apartheid and birth of a democratic society, wherein marketing strategies had to change drastically to include all cultures, consisting of all Black, Asian, “Coloured”¹ and White groups (Johnson and Grier 2011). Therefore, SA presents a case where marketing strategies are led by underlying socio-political objectives rather than targeting consumer groups with economic power. Whilst adhering to these objectives, marketers also have to meet business objectives for their clients, including developing ways of reaching all SA’s cultural groups – resulting in a significant emphasis on strategies serving a culturally superdiverse marketplace and presenting a rich field for studying whether and how marketing aligns with ideological and lived level intercultural relations discourses.

We conducted a two-stage study: systematic review of SA advertising from 1994-2018 – the 25 years of Rainbow Nation-building after the fall of apartheid, followed by a critical visual analysis of campaigns depicting cultural diversity meanings, as derived from review. Because visual representations facilitate both (re)production and dynamic transformations of culture(s) (Saatcioglu and Corus 2018), we deemed this approach best fitting for examining evolution of marketing representations to align with the dynamics of ideological and lived levels development

of RN. We pursued the two-fold objective of theorizing, from the SA context (Whetten 2009), how alignment with the ideological and lived levels of superdiversity can consolidate the role of marketing in brokering intercultural relations and contextualizing the existing strategies of marketing applied to the RN agenda in SA.

Study Design

We followed a systematic review approach in our study design, as it enables recording and documenting the status quo of research in topical areas (Truong 2014). Grey (non-academic) sources are valuable for areas where contemporary realities possibly misalign with published research (Godin et al. 2015; Stansfield, Dickson, and Bangpan 2016). Following this reasoning, we mapped marketing strategies and actions identified through the review to stages of RN-building and forms of lived experiences of superdiversity in context, utilizing critical visual analysis.

When conducting systematic reviews on grey literature, pre-determined search criteria are applied to multiple sources allowing for optimized results and negating potential researcher bias (Stansfield, Dickson, and Bangpan 2016). We focused our search on sourcing campaigns from the Top 50 SA brands in 2017 (Brand South Africa 2017), as large brands are deemed to provoke most consumer resistance (Heath, Cluley, and O'Malley 2017). Their campaigns could potentially have bigger (de)legitimizing impact through wider marketplace reach, thereby playing a bigger role in advancing (or not) nation-building strategy by invoking meanings related to cultural diversity. We ran searches on Google and Coloribus online advertising archive using the following search criteria:

- 1) Key word combinations: *a*)[South AND Africa AND advertising (no 'South Africa' filter)]; *b*)[Rainbow AND Nation AND advertising].

2) Time frame: [AND [Year] for years 1994-2018]

All searches were halted five pages after recording the last relevant result. We documented all returned results and reviewed all those pertaining to marketing campaigns depicting SA's cultural diversity (determined by models' race, e.g., Black, White, Mixed Race and Asian), having eliminated results for brands outside the Top 50 Brands list. As determined by our criteria, Google returned 15 relevant results for key word combination *a*, and 2 for combination *b*; Coloribus yielded 165 and 60 respectively. This initial dataset was subjected to a two-stage screening. In the first stage we sought to select campaigns including representation of different cultural groups, yielding 54 campaigns retained for second screening. In the second stage, we further narrowed screening parameters to select campaigns for the inclusionary aspect of representing all RN citizens, retaining only campaigns representing more than two cultural groups. Ultimately, a combined total of 14 campaigns met all eligibility criteria and constitute the final dataset (see Appendix for dataset details).

We analyzed the retained campaigns adopting critical visual analysis – an approach enabling interdisciplinary comprehension and contextualization of visual representations (Schroeder 2007). It typically involves: a descriptive stage reporting on formal properties without interpretation; followed by an evaluative stage where interpretation and comparative analysis occur (Schroeder 2007). For the descriptive stage each campaign was watched a minimum of 10 times to capture all formal properties, documenting concept, narrative, actions, settings, music, subject matter, medium and genre. As an overview, all campaigns are set in SA depicting urban settings and racially diverse groups of people represented as participating in nationally-significant events (particularly rugby events) or in 'slice-of-life', routine scenarios.

In safeguarding for interpretative rigor, we followed Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria of credibility, dependability and confirmability. Because credibility is increased through activities such as prolonged marketplace exposure and member checking, the first author, who has past experience in the SA advertising industry and therefore contextual knowledge of the meanings conveyed in the campaigns, acted as the first reviewer and coder (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Following recommendations of auditing research process and findings to establish consistency and internal coherence (Wildemuth 2016) to safeguard for dependability and confirmability, the whole author team regularly evaluated the analytical process, retained/discarded results and triangulated data with theoretical and process notes.

The evaluative stage encompassed two analysis rounds: first, each campaign was considered separately; second, all of the campaigns were compared and considered as a whole to allow for mapping against two criteria pertaining to conceptualized stages of RN ideological development and forms of lived experiences of superdiversity. That is, criteria selection was guided by the objective to map the campaigns' content against: stages of RN ideological development, through types of cultural representation; and forms of lived experiences of superdiversity identified from the literature review, through types of intercultural engagement depictions. The criteria were: 1) type(s) of cultural representation (refers to the manner different racial or ethnic groups are represented in the campaigns and ranges from stereotyping to genuine representation); and 2) type(s) of intercultural interaction (refers to the intensity of the engagement between people from different racial or ethnic groups within the advertisement, and ranges from staged juxtaposition to everyday engagement).

We mapped the campaigns based on their type of cultural representation against the three stages of RN-building they portray. Cultural representations range from exaggerated, often

stereotypical, representation of SA's races – which we coded as stereotyped representation (*reconciliation* stage) to non-exaggerated representation of SA's races – which we coded as genuine representation (*foundation* stage) to representation of SA's races engaged in community improvement pursuits (*welfare* stage) – which we coded as community representation.

Next, we analyzed the campaigns based on types of intercultural interaction they depicted, mapping them against forms of lived experiences of superdiversity. Three forms of intercultural interaction depictions emerged, ranging from juxtaposition – representation with no to little interaction (*acknowledgement*), to staged interaction – representation of interactions on nationally-significant occasions (*acceptance*), to everyday interactions in banal, mundane scenarios (*conviviality*).

The mapping exercise discerned the campaigns' alignment with the ideological versus lived conceptions of RN and allowed examination of evolution (or not) of SA marketing strategies in brokering intercultural relations by connecting ideologically and experiences derived meanings of living together.

Findings

We examined alignment (or lack thereof) of campaign meanings as ascribed to stages of RN ideology and forms of lived experiences. Table 1 presents the summary of our analysis.

[ADD TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

The table shows that the campaigns do not align perfectly with the meanings ascribed to stages of RN-building ideology and lived experiences (i.e., they are not all in the diagonal). We posit that this indicates a more complex, at times socially 'out-of-sync' interpretation of the RN and lived experiences in marketing representations. For instance, not all five stereotyped representations fall

within the *acknowledgement* stage. Based on our analysis, four other campaigns that fit into the stereotyped representation category depict interactions that fit with the *acceptance* level – where superdiversity is not only recognized but also celebrated. For example, the MTN *Ayoba* (Figure 2) campaign portrays multiple scenarios of intercultural interactions, albeit in staged nationally-significant scenarios of preparing and celebrating the 2010 FIFA World Cup which was hosted by SA. Finally, we could not identify in the dataset any advertisement with representations of everyday engagement in banal scenarios (to depict *conviviality*) that match stereotyped representations of the *reconciliation* stage.

We categorized the majority of the campaigns (8 out of 14) within the *foundation* stage, conveying genuine rather than stereotyped representation. We identify three campaigns depicting *acknowledgement* as an important meaning, juxtaposing multiple cultural groups, with a minimal proportion of the campaign showing some form of interaction. For instance, in the Mutual & Federal *Protection* (Figure 3) advertisement there are multiple scenes of individuals saving or protecting their most treasured possessions. In the 60 second advertisement, there are two 1-second clips of interaction between members of the same racial group and only one of intercultural interaction at the end, where a White insurance broker hands a Black boy his toy car, forgotten at the coffee shop counter. The next cluster of campaigns fits within the *foundation – acceptance* cell, encompassing genuine representations of cultural groups. However, interaction remains limited to nationally-significant occasions, such as in the Absa *Team of Millions* (Figure 4) advertisement where the multicultural fan base of the national rugby team are invited to come to the same shared spaces (at specially arranged mall activations) to have their photo taken (or by uploading their pictures to a mobile application). Thereafter all the fans are photoshopped into a giant picture as if they are part of the actual team, which is reproduced as a billboard.

[ADD FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

[ADD FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

More recent campaigns, like FNB *You Need a Bank That's All Things to You* (Figure 5), show a move towards a depiction of more everyday interactions between cultural groups as they go about daily routines. This suggests that these campaigns correspond with the *foundation-conviviality* cell. In this advertisement a young Black woman is interacting with members of her intercultural community in various roles as mother, colleague, boss, friend, passer-by etc. She is the problem-solver in all scenarios, but when she needs help, she phones her FNB Personal Banker for assistance. Even though this advertisement depicts conviviality, it is missing a collective effort towards improved realities for all.

[ADD FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]

[ADD FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE]

[ADD FIGURE 7 ABOUT HERE]

Only one campaign in the dataset, the FNB *The Helpers* (Figure 6), depicts the *welfare* stage of RN-building by representing members of SA's multiple cultural groups working together to achieve a shared goal. It represents multiple scenarios of people preparing for the community- and nationally-significant events (parallel build-up of a local school game and a national rugby match). Depictions of genuine helpers (parents, teachers, coaches, factory workers creating uniforms, team members) are reflective of communities working together, however we concluded that representation of intercultural interaction is staged for the special event and most of interactions depicted are between people from the same cultural groups, with intercultural

interaction only occurring at the rugby matches. Hence, the campaign is reflective of the *acceptance* form of lived experience.

As Table 1 shows, there is a general move, over time, from representations where members from different cultural groups are simply juxtaposed, with no or minimal interaction, towards depictions of everyday convivial engagement between groups in mundane scenarios. Approximate time periods of representations aligning with the forms of lived experience are: *acknowledgement* 2008-2015; *acceptance* 2007-2017; and *conviviality* 2014-2016. Similarly, there is a general move, over time, from depictions of stereotypical to genuine representations, and finally to those combining genuine representation and portrayals of intercultural engagement for community improvement. Approximate time periods of representations aligning with stages of RN-building ideologies are: *reconciliation* 2008-2017; *foundation* 2013-2016; and *welfare* 2017. Hence, there is a general trend of the campaigns in Table 1 hovering around the top-left to bottom-right diagonal, and we observe that there are no campaigns in the top right (*reconciliation* – *conviviality*) and the bottom left (*welfare* – *acknowledgement*) cells. Further, in spite of a move towards depicting more everyday routine engagements between cultural groups (depicting *conviviality*) in more recent campaigns (FNB *You Need a Bank That's All Things to You*; Sanlam *R1 Man* – Figure 7), these campaigns appear to align only with the *foundation* stage of RN-building ideology. Depictions aligning with the *foundation* stage, in both the *acknowledgement* and the *convivial* forms, entail a strong focus on the individual and their survival, without reflecting the lived level emerged sentiment of working together towards improved realities for all. The absence of campaigns in the *welfare* - *conviviality* category provides an initial indication of a gap in existing marketing strategy for depicting meanings of convivial engagement among communities working together to advance shared welfare, although we note that a relatively small number of campaigns

in the final dataset precludes definitive conclusions. A final unexpected observation is that all brands retained in the final dataset are of local (SA) origin, although both the Top 50 list of brands (Brand South Africa 2017) and the initial dataset comprised both local and non-local brands. While examining whether a given brand's origin informs how it engages with cultural diversity of a given marketplace is beyond the scope of this study, this finding poses an important consideration for the future: that is, whether lack of in-depth contextualization to the ideological and lived conceptions of superdiversity is an intended or unintended strategic decision by non-local brands, and what are the implications of these strategic decisions for their market position.

Discussion: Towards Brokering Conviviality and Welfare – Enter Intercultural Marketing

The findings show how SA marketing's strategies in representing superdiversity evolved alongside stages of RN-building and SA consumers' lived experiences of RN as a reconciliatory superdiverse society. Examining this evolution points to potential disconnects between current forms of RN representations in marketing campaigns and the cultural codes of RN as a 'living together context' evolved at the lived level of RN's conceptions. Despite conviviality and welfare emerging as two contemporary forms of living together (Dickow and Møller 2002; Tswanya 2017), our analysis indicates that SA marketing is lagging behind in reflecting this.

According to neo-institutional theory, these disconnects explain the increase in delegitimizing consumer responses to marketing representations of SA's superdiversity, and highlight the need for a critical re-examination of marketing strategies from the perspective of their alignment with current socio-political and socio-cultural status in SA. We next contrast the different approaches to marketing strategy our findings identified against the theoretical framework and present an analytical map (Figure 8) examining alignment of practiced marketing strategies with each stage of RN-building and form of lived experiences of superdiversity and the

intercultural relations meanings brokered by each of these strategies. The analytical map indicates that marketing strategy's evolution has stagnated after the progression from ethnic marketing to multicultural marketing, whereas to align with and broker intercultural relations in the *welfare* stage of RN-building and *conviviality* form of lived experience of RN, a new strategy – intercultural marketing – is required.

[ADD FIGURE 8 ABOUT HERE]

The findings indicate that campaigns in the *reconciliation* stage highlight cultural difference through use of stereotypes and juxtaposition. As Figure 8 shows, such strategies resonate with *ethnic marketing*, which evolved from a focus on specific minorities' need for representation, as well as a realization of their growing buying power, as in the case of Hispanics in the USA (Peñaloza 1994). Ethnic marketing is a concerted approach to reach a specific target audience based on their unique ethnicity (Liscandru and Cui 2018; Peñaloza 2018). However, deployment of ethnic marketing for brokering intercultural relations beyond the *reconciliation* stage can be problematic in that: 1) it only represents a certain subset(s) of the marketplace, leaving consumers not targeted by these strategies feeling excluded or alienated (Johnson and Grier 2011); 2) emphasis on and/or exaggeration of cultural characteristics – whether intentionally or unintentionally stereotypical – may evoke a backlash from consumers targeted by these strategies (Kipnis et al. 2013); and 3) tailoring campaign collateral for small subsets of the target audience is financially costly (Oakenfull, McCarthy, and Greenlee 2008). In RN, ethnic marketing served an essential purpose in establishing superdiversity as an everyday marketplace reality, thereby obtaining regulative legitimacy of *reconciliation* between cultural groups. However, as *acknowledgement* of cultural diversity became implicit in SA marketplace, representational meaning had to evolve to establishing *acceptance* as a means of living together.

Consistent with this required transition, the findings show that campaigns in the *foundation* stage depict superdiversity through staged intercultural interactions on nationally-significant occasions, albeit with more genuine cultural representation. These strategies encompass *multicultural marketing*, which aims to simultaneously engage with multiple consumer segments by representing multiple cultures within one campaign (Petzer and De Meyer 2013). According to the literature and our findings, this marketing strategy is most frequently employed in SA and predominantly aligns with the *foundation* stage. Johnson, Elliot, and Grier (2010) link the success of multicultural marketing strategies in RN to Allport's (1954) Intergroup Contact Theory, that posits continued contact with other cultural groups reduces intergroup prejudice and reluctance to engage (Wessendorf 2014). That is, while intercultural interactions' portrayal is predominantly staged and limited to nationally-significant occasions, the very fact of their portrayal legitimizes superdiversity and the intercultural relations it entails.

However, Figure 8 also indicates that marketing representations of the RN are yet to fully evolve towards the *welfare* stage, as evident in the lack of campaigns aligned with this stage in the dataset, particularly when paired with *conviviality* forms of lived experience. Hence, based on our conceptualization of marketing as broker of intercultural relations, we argue that there is a need to extend marketing strategy and practice beyond the current multicultural marketing paradigm, aligning with the evolved meanings of living together in a superdiverse society of RN. This new approach needs to place emphasis on addressing consumers' realities of actively working together towards realization of the *welfare* stage, which will in turn aid further cultural-cognitive legitimization of RN-building.

In sum, our analysis and recent media reports of RN realities (Dayimani 2015; Hosie 2018; Tswana 2017) all suggest that current marketing campaigns lack alignment with the lived level

emergent sentiment of interculturally convivial ‘togetherness’ for improving societal welfare. Hence, based on our theoretical framework and findings, and drawing from recent literature (Antonisch 2016; Morris, Chiu, and Liu 2015; Zapata-Barrero 2015), we argue that to align meanings of the *welfare* stage of RN-building and the lived experience of *convivial* superdiversity, a new approach to marketing strategy – intercultural marketing – is needed.

Conceptualizing Intercultural Marketing: Principles, Goals and Tools

We define intercultural marketing as a superdiversity approach to marketing strategy concerned with brokering meanings related to conviviality and synergy – i.e., meanings depicting superdiverse communities’ efforts to achieve shared goals – that go beyond meanings encapsulated in ethnic marketing and multicultural marketing, due to collective well-being orientation. The remainder of this section offers a conceptualization of intercultural marketing principles, outlining potentially fruitful theories, goals and tools that can underpin future development and implementation of intercultural marketing research and practice. Conviviality is camaraderie born of customary interaction (Gilroy 2004; Meissner and Vertovec 2015). Prior research (Antonisch 2016; Demangeot et al. 2019; Wessendorf 2014) indicates that exposure to superdiversity does not necessarily equate to appreciation for and convivial engagement with cultures co-existing in a given superdiverse society. Fear of engaging with ‘others’ may lead to avoidance of intercultural engagement beyond superficial civilities (Wessendorf 2014). Therefore, we posit that for intercultural conviviality to grow, meanings related to sincere and successful intercultural engagement need to be brokered.

We build on Back and Sinha’s (2016) conceptualization of five conviviality aims. We consider the first aim, “fostering attentiveness and curiosity” (Back and Sinha 2016, p.530), as an

inherent foundation for the intercultural marketing approach. We adapt the other aims to conceptualize intercultural marketing goals, presented in Table 2.

[ADD TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

We next elaborate on goals delineated in Table 2, alongside tools through which these goals can be achieved. In Table 3 we illustrate our discussion with recent examples of marketing practice that align with intercultural marketing goals which, to the best of our knowledge, have evolved organically rather than being formalized as a distinct strategic approach.

Intercultural Conviviality Goals

Whilst NIT enables the study of (de)legitimization processes as related to consumer behavior, it does not offer explanation of intercultural interaction in the marketplace or how marketing can cultivate positive engagement. A theoretical lens that can complement insight on the role of marketing in brokering intercultural conviviality is imagined contact theory (Crisp and Turner 2011), an extension of intergroup contact theory (Allport 1954). Imagined contact theory postulates that vicarious, as well as real, experiences of positive and competition-free (e.g. convivial) interactions with member(s) of cultural outgroups reduce anxiety and apprehensions about intercultural relations (Brambilla, Ravenna, and Hewstone 2012; Crisp et al. 2010). Through such convivial interactions, understanding of similarities and shared meanings and experiences across cultural groups emerges (Antonisch 2016; Saguy et al. 2017).

To broker *Intercultural Conviviality*, a goal of fostering compassionate empathy is necessary, which encompasses going beyond understanding and sympathy for others through convivial actions (Bariso 2018). This goal directs marketing strategies to focus on creating and legitimizing meanings and practices representative of shared understanding of superdiverse society

as a community united by its humanity rather than characterized by cultural difference(s). Concurrently, a goal of championing prejudice delegitimization can focus marketing strategies on delegitimizing cultural prejudice-based stigmatization.

These goals can be supported by the following intercultural marketing tools: 1) representation of mundane, everyday (imagined or real) scenarios where sensitivity to others' lived realities and positive, convivial intergroup engagement are communicated; and 2) development of marketing offerings enabling learning and interaction with other cultural groups. Recent research and anecdotal examples (see Table 3) showcase the importance of consumption settings for real and vicarious interculturally convivial engagements to occur. Pursuing *Intercultural Conviviality* goals directs marketing to play an important role in broadening multicultural education to all marketplace actors, and – as a social function producing means of imagined and real intercultural contact – contribute to establishing intercultural conviviality as a social norm.

Synergistic Welfare Goals

SA context suggests that intercultural marketing should broker, alongside *conviviality*, meanings of togetherness for societal *welfare*. A key supporting theory for advancement of research and practice into such synergistic welfare goals is creolization (continuous amalgamation of cultures positively impacting societal attitudes and behaviors - Cohen 2007). Creolization allows for recognizing the evolution of new, culturally fluid ideas (Ger and Belk 1996) without disregarding individual cultural heritages (Appadurai 1990; Cross and Gilly 2017), thus enabling marketing to grasp and reflect the lived complexity and dynamism of multicultural superdiverse marketplaces.

Intercultural marketing strategies concerned with brokering meanings of *Synergistic Welfare* should aim to facilitate intercultural coherence in pursuing common purposes. These, in

turn, inform the following intercultural marketing tools: 1) development of offerings that enable multiculturally-synthesized marketplace practices; and 2) development of representations facilitating intercultural sharing of societal goals. These goals and tools direct marketers to develop offerings enabling cultural boundaries' inter-crossing and representations that positively facilitate dialog across multicultural communities working synergistically towards common welfare. Table 3 highlights how, by pursuing *Synergistic Welfare* goals, marketers can help facilitate such dialog in the marketplace to better inform development of shared understanding of welfare needs and means of achieving them together.

[ADD TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Conclusion

This paper examined and critiqued marketing strategies' alignment with the evolution of the SA's Rainbow Nation-building ideologies and consumers' lived experiences of superdiversity over 25 years. The findings identify a neglected shift in SA consumer realities of 'living together context'. This has significant implications from the macromarketing perspective, since for the marketing system to fulfil its role of brokering intercultural relations, it is first necessary to advance strategic approaches to close the misalignments of SA marketing with the continuous evolution of intercultural relations in the lived superdiversity of RN.

By integrating theorization of this contextual gap with contextualization of extant theories of marketing in multicultural marketplaces, we underscore the need for greater integration of non-western perspectives in theoretical development and offer conceptualization of a new approach to marketing strategy in superdiverse contexts, namely intercultural marketing. Going beyond the ethnic and multicultural marketing strategies, we argue that intercultural marketing strategy will

enable bridging of current disconnects between socio-political nation-building strategies and socio-cultural lived experiences of RN. Through intercultural marketing strategy, marketers can enhance legitimization processes for the development of reconciliatory intercultural relations, contributing holistically to improved societal well-being alongside brand development and potential return on investment (Figueiredo et al. 2015). This highlights the need for policy makers to understand and incorporate this role of marketing into diversity, inclusion and intercultural relations agendas.

We acknowledge the study's limitations. The choice of stringent screening criteria for our dataset was driven by conception of SA as a superdiverse society, therefore eliminating campaigns representing cultural diversity more narrowly (e.g. depicting persons of two different racial backgrounds only). Future studies are needed with larger datasets and rigorous contextualization to focal superdiverse societies. Triangulation of advertiser intent and consumer perceptions of campaigns can enhance analysis of meanings derived by different marketplace actors when engaging with macro and micro societal levels' conceptions of superdiversity. Hence, work examining marketer views and consumer responses, alongside visual research, is required, perhaps utilizing multimodal designs (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006; Rossolatos 2015). Multimodal explorations can better account for consumers' role in influencing the evolution of marketplace communications, market offerings and reshaping of social norms concerned with intercultural relations (Bezemer and Kress 2016; Kress 2013). Studies on consumer co-creation of meanings of living together in superdiversity will improve understanding of how to incorporate and manage the growing demand for equality, diversity, inclusion and multicultural engagement in consumer lifestyles and subsequent behaviors as a means of value co-creation for businesses (Payne, Storbacka, and Frow 2008). A final limitation is imposed by the focus on delineating successive

forms of lived level superdiversity in SA (*acknowledgement, acceptance and conviviality*), necessitated by the underexplored unique cultural contexts of Africa in prior research. Space limitations precluded us from examining the underlying process(es) facilitating transition between these forms. While a nascent body of work (see Demangeot et al. 2019; Peñaloza 2018; Veresiu and Giesler 2018; Visconti et al. 2014) has begun to unpack these processes, this work is still predominantly conceptual and requires further development and empirical validation.

This study opens up several fruitful research avenues. First, further empirical study on how marketers can meaningfully and productively engage with the forms of lived level superdiversity and resultant consumption behaviors' dynamics can be guided by integrating an additional legitimacy pillar, that of pragmatic legitimacy (Suchman 1995). Pragmatic legitimacy is achieved when audiences see practical outcomes to an actor's behavior. A pragmatic legitimacy lens would help consider how marketers can develop strategies that diverse groups of consumers and policy makers see as providing them with practical benefits and a sense that their values and interests are understood². It is likely that at different periods of intercultural relations, different strategies would achieve pragmatic legitimacy; it also appears that strategies that capture an alignment of top-down nation-building agendas and bottom-up lived experiences are particularly likely to gain pragmatic legitimacy. Such perspectives will contribute to further advancement of macromarketing theory on the ability of marketing to enhance consumers' lives (Cross, Harrison, and Gilly 2017; Kennedy 2016). Second, our conceptualization of intercultural marketing derived from SA's context can shed light on how marketers can overcome challenges stemming from intercultural tensions and contribute to building interculturally-convivial superdiverse societies in the future. Given that several major superdiverse nations (including USA, UK, Brazil) are experiencing a rise in intercultural tensions, lessons from SA are a valuable learning as it is perhaps further than the

majority of the world's nations in attempting to build a reconciliatory superdiverse society where cultural communities work together towards shared welfare.

Endnotes

¹ “‘Coloureds’ - ‘denominator for mixed-race populations who speak mostly Afrikaans as their first language.’ (Becker 2012, p.34)

² We thank a reviewer for suggesting this most promising avenue for future research.

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Appendix: Campaign Dataset

Campaign and year(s) of running / campaign source/ brand country of origin	Format	Type of cultural representation	Type of intercultural engagement	Brand Longevity (years)	Brand History in South Africa
MTN <i>The Clap</i> (2007) Source: Youtube (Frequency Audio Music South Africa 2012) South Africa	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Coloured, Indian Stereotyped representation / <i>reconciliation</i> stage	Chain of girls playing a clapping game with spectators on the street joining in. Staged interaction / <i>acceptance</i> form	25	“Established in South Africa at the dawn of democracy as a leader in transformation, we have grown rapidly by investing in advanced communication infrastructure and by harnessing the talent of our people... Our brand is among the most admired brands in Africa as well as among the most valuable African brands.” (MTN 2019)
SAA <i>Speed Dating</i> (2008) Source: Youtube (Olding 2015) South Africa	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Coloured, Indian Stereotyped representation / <i>reconciliation</i> stage	People impersonating main cities (through stereotypical characteristics of cultural groups prevalent in the locations) at a speed dating event. Juxtaposition / <i>acknowledgement</i> form	85	South African Airways (SAA) is the “...national carrier of South Africa flies to over 35 destinations ... Becoming the best airline in Africa does not happen overnight. We have more than 80 years of excellence and innovation to draw on.” (South African Airways 2019)
MTN <i>Ayoba</i> (2009-2010) Source:	Case study in video format including the 4 television	Black, White, Coloured	Gearing up SA for the FIFA World Cup 2010 with interactive integrated marketing campaign.	25	See MTN Clap

Coloribus Archive (Coloribus 2018e) South Africa	advertisements and review of news clips, radio coverage, experiential media, outdoor advertising, social media.	Stereotyped representation <i>/reconciliation</i> stage	Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form		
FNB <i>Anthem</i> (2011) Source: Youtube (Upstairs Post 2011) South Africa	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Indian Genuine representation <i>/foundation</i> stage	Little girl singing anthem in packed stadium. She forgets the words and is then helped out by one of the women in the accompanying orchestra, rest of the crowd joins in. Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form	181	“FNB is the oldest bank in South Africa, and can be traced back to the Eastern Province Bank formed in Grahamstown in 1838... The Acacia tree in our brand logo is a suitable representation of our history. Our roots run deep in South Africa, and we have grown thanks to our commitment to serving the needs of our clients and communities” (FirstRand Bank Limited 2019)
Absa <i>Team of Millions</i> (2011) Source: Coloribus Archive (Coloribus 2018a) South Africa	Case study in video format including the television advertisement, mall activations, television coverage, outdoor advertising, social media.	Black, White, Coloured, Indian Genuine representation <i>/foundation</i> stage	Promotion to get everyone’s picture taken for the rugby team picture, including mall activations and mobile apps, rolled out into a big billboard with everyone’s faces in. Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form	28	“Over time, Absa has become a well-known and trusted brand with enormous equity in South Africa, but we’re also recognized in the other countries we operate in for our strong support of football” (Absa 2019)

<p>Santam/Nandos <i>Sir Sneaky Challenge</i> (2012)</p> <p>Source: Coloribus Archive (Coloribus 2018f)</p> <p>South Africa</p>	<p>Case study in video format including the four Youtube advertisement, media coverage and consumer responses via social media.</p>	<p>Black, White, Coloured</p> <p>Stereotyped representation <i>/reconciliation</i> stage</p>	<p>Santam did a Youtube advert to illustrate how easy it is to miss the little details (for example missing a slight change of outfit). This sparked a series of parody responses with Nandos and ended up with a pledge to donate meals to a local children's charity every Friday for a year.</p> <p>Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form</p>	<p>101</p>	<p>Leading insurance company in SA (22% market share) "Consumers voted us the most reliable personal insurer when it comes to paying claims and satisfying their insurance needs [in the South African Customer Satisfaction Index]." (Santam Ltd 2014)</p>
<p>Absa <i>Human Spirit</i> (2013)</p> <p>Source: Coloribus Archive (Coloribus 2018b)</p> <p>South Africa</p>	<p>Television Advertisement</p>	<p>Black, White, Coloured, Indian</p> <p>Genuine representation <i>/foundation</i> stage</p>	<p>Television advertisement cuts between different narratives of children practicing their talents: 2 Coloured children pretending to be mountain bikers; a White girl drawing inspiration from an art installation for her own masterpiece; a teenage Black soccer player and a little Black rugby player watching their teams and practicing. All to convey the concept of Absa "sponsoring the human spirit" instead of rugby, soccer or art. Nevertheless only staged interactions between Coloured boys and White cyclists. Little Black</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>See Absa <i>Team of Millions</i></p>

			<p>rugby player wandering around trophy room in stadium as White players enter and greet him in passing.</p> <p>Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form</p>		
<p>Old Mutual <i>Do Great Things</i> (2013)</p> <p>Source: Coloribus Archive (Coloribus 2018c)</p> <p>South Africa</p>	Television Advertisement	<p>Black, White, Indian and Asian</p> <p>Genuine representation <i>/foundation</i> stage</p>	<p>Juxtaposed pastiche of different cultural groups, from past to present, showcasing moments in life involving notes with messages on e.g. being in prison yard passing a note or finding a note in a text book. Only intercultural interaction scene is where White police officers are standing in the middle of a group of Black protesters, and the one reads a note. Advertisement ends with “while each of us may gain wisdom in different ways, 1 thing is true for us all, it’s what you do with it that counts.” Paired with two campaign taglines: “do great things” and “we have 165 years of wisdom to invest in you”</p>	175	<p>“Old Mutual is a premium African financial services group that offers a broad spectrum of financial solutions to retail and corporate customers across key market segments in 14 countries. Our primary operations are in South Africa and the rest of Africa, and we have niche businesses in China. With over 173 years of heritage across sub-Saharan Africa, we are a crucial part of the communities we serve and broader society on the continent.” (Old Mutual Limited 2019)</p>

			Juxtaposition <i>/acknowledgement</i> form		
<p>Mutual and Federal <i>Protection</i> (2014)</p> <p>Source: Youtube (Honeymoon Studios 2014)</p> <p>South Africa</p>	Television Advertisement	<p>Black, White, Coloured, Indian</p> <p>Genuine representation <i>/foundation</i> stage</p>	<p>Juxtaposed, mostly individuals, little interaction between people of the same race. Only intercultural interaction is a staged scenario where the White broker hands the little Black boy his toy car, forgotten at the counter moments ago.</p> <p>Juxtaposition <i>/acknowledgement</i> form</p>	180+	<p>Mutual and Federal (part of Old Mutual group, now Old Mutual Insure)</p> <p>“On 5 June 2017 we rebranded from Mutual & Federal to Old Mutual Insure.” (Old Mutual Life Assurance Company 2019)</p> <p>“Old Mutual Insure provides insurance services to personal, commercial and corporate clients in South Africa. We became a wholly- owned subsidiary of the Old Mutual Group in February 2010 and we are the only short-term insurance company in the Group. We are the oldest short-term insurer in South Africa with a history that dates back over 180 years.” (Old Mutual Life Assurance Company 2019)</p>
<p>Sanlam <i>R1 Man</i> (2014)</p> <p>Source: Coloribus Archive (Coloribus 2018d)</p> <p>South Africa</p>	Case study in video format including highlights from: the five television documentary series, campaign website, media	<p>Black, White, Coloured, Indian</p> <p>Genuine representation <i>/foundation</i> stage</p>	<p>SA’s are bad at saving, in order to cultivate a saving culture Sanlam started the R1 (SA currency) campaign where the man gets his salary paid in R1 coins and how this influences the way he spends.</p> <p>Everyday engagement <i>/conviviality</i> form</p>	101	Originally a subsidiary of the Santam Group. Became independent in 1954, now an international, diversified financial services provider (Sanlam 2019)

	coverage including 8 advertorial spreads in newspapers, and consumer responses in magazines, on radio and social media				
<p>Cell C <i>Screwed</i> (2015)</p> <p>Source: Youtube (FCB Africa 2015)</p> <p>South Africa</p>	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Coloured, Indian Genuine representation <i>/foundation stage</i>	<p>Few interactions, mostly man alone (with the dog humping his leg), going about his day. Only interaction in supermarket with eye-rolling cashier and saleswoman in Cell C shop. As soon as he gets the cheaper contract with Cell C, the dog moves on to a Black man to visualize 'being screwed' through high cost of living.</p> <p>Juxtaposition <i>/acknowledgement form</i></p>	18	<p>"Cell C launched its operations in 2001, seven years after the launch of the two incumbents, Vodacom and MTN (launched in 1994). A fourth mobile operator, Telkom Mobile, a business unit of Telkom SOC SA LTD, launched its operations in 2010.</p> <p>In spite of penetration of over 140% of mobile services in South Africa, growth - particularly in the prepaid market - continues apace. Cell C itself grew its mobile subscribers from 9 million in 2012, to over 20 million by July 2015."</p>
<p>FNB <i>You Need a Bank That's All Things to You</i> (2016)</p> <p>Source:</p>	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Coloured Genuine representation <i>/foundation stage</i>	Mom/friend/boss/colleague helping everyone out in daily scenarios. When she needs some help she phones Mark at the bank – how can we help you?	181	See FNB <i>Anthem</i>

Youtube (FNB SA 2016)			Everyday engagement <i>/conviviality</i> form		
South Africa					
FNB <i>The Helpers</i> (2017) Source: Youtube (Produce Sound Studio 2018) South Africa	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Coloured Community representation/ <i>welfare</i> stage	Multiple scenarios of preparing for the big rugby game – made possible by all the helpers like moms, dads, teachers, coaches, factory workers sowing on letters, team members, spectators. Ends with national rugby game and introducing FNB a new official sponsor. Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form	181	See FNB <i>Anthem</i>
Vodacom <i>#MegYourDay</i> (2017) Source: Youtube (Vodacom SA 2017) South Africa	Television Advertisement	Black, White, Indian Stereotyped representation <i>/reconciliation</i> stage	A street vendor and coffee shop owner have a battle on opposite sides of the street. The street vendor (black woman) uses her data bundle from Vodacom to learn new recipes and gather more clients. In the end she offers the shop owner (white male) a scone and the ad ends with the two of them teaming up and opening a joint business. Staged interaction <i>/acceptance</i> form	25	“Vodacom is a leading African communications company providing a wide range of communication services, including mobile voice, messaging, data, financial and converged services to over 110 million (including Safaricom) customers....majority owned by Vodafone (60.5% holding), one of the world’s largest communications companies by revenue (Vodacom 2019)

Table 1: Summary Analysis of the Alignment of Marketing Representations of Rainbow Nation Against Ideological and Lived Level Meanings

Stages of Rainbow Nation Ideology	Forms of Lived Experiences		
	Acknowledgement Juxtaposed with no to little interaction	Acceptance Staged interaction on special occasions	Conviviality Everyday engagement in banal scenarios
Reconciliation Stereotyped representation	SAA <i>Speed Dating</i> 2008	MTN <i>The Clap</i> 2007 MTN <i>Ayoba</i> 2009-2010 Santam/Nandos <i>Sir Sneaky Challenge</i> 2012 Vodacom <i>#MegYourDay</i> 2017	
Foundation Genuine representation	Old Mutual <i>Do Great Things</i> 2013 Mutual and Federal <i>Protection</i> 2014 Cell C <i>Screwed</i> 2015	FNB <i>Anthem</i> 2011 Absa <i>Team of Millions</i> 2011 Absa <i>Human Spirit</i> 2013	Sanlam <i>R1 Man</i> 2014 FNB <i>You Need a Bank That's All Things to You</i> 2016
Welfare Genuine representation in pursuit of community improvement		FNB <i>The Helpers</i> 2017	

* diagonal cells colored in black indicate placement of campaigns in which representations are aligned with both ideological and lived levels' meanings of RN

** three empty cells (one colored in black and two in grey) indicate absence of campaigns in the dataset that mapped against the respective ideology stage and lived experience form.

Table 2: Intercultural Marketing Goals

Conviviality Aims (Back and Sinha 2016, p.530):	Intercultural Marketing Goals:
	<i>Intercultural Conviviality Goals:</i>
“care for the city and a capacity to put yourself in another’s place”	fostering compassionate empathy
“develop an aversion to the pleasures of hating”	championing prejudice delegitimization
	<i>Synergistic Welfare Goals:</i>
“worldliness and making connections beyond local confines”	facilitating networking across cultural boundaries
“make connections and build home”	enabling actors’ working towards common purposes

Table 3: Intercultural Marketing Principles, Goals and Tools

Principle	Goal	Tools Examples
<i>Brokering meanings of intercultural conviviality</i>	Foster Compassionate Empathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representations depicting scenes including people of different religious backgrounds (Muslim, Judaism) at a (traditional western) barbecue, paired with information on offerings (butchers and other outlets) that stock Halal and Kosher meat and why these meats should be catered for to include these members of society in a celebration (Wise and Velayutham 2014).
	Champion Prejudice Deligitimization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representations depicting dialog through which commonalities and understanding is reached between people with opposing world views (Heineken's campaign depicting a dialog between transgender female and a male opposed to transgender people – De Kleyn 2017) and offerings facilitating engagement between people of different cultural backgrounds (Coca Cola's Make a Friend Kiosk – synchronized vending machines in India and Pakistan with live feed cameras requiring exchanges between consumers in each location, such as dancing together or joining hands to receive a can – Coca Cola 2013).
<i>Brokering synergistic welfare meanings</i>	Facilitate networking across cultural boundaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offerings facilitating cultural synthesis (marking of Hanukkah in London through events and erecting a giant Menorah in Trafalgar square –Miah 2018; Castle Lager (2018) showcasing SA's cultures for Heritage Day in a collaborative flag created by artists commissioned to create artwork about a culture different to their own); Thanksgiving celebrations incorporating intercultural amalgamations (adaptations of traditional menus) enabling previously excluded groups feel included and develop a stronger sense of belonging, strengthening intercultural ties and

	Enabling actors' working towards common purposes	<p>enriching community celebrations (Cross, Harrison and Gilly 2017).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representations depicting intercultural engagement while working towards community welfare (FNB's campaign depicting community members pitching in to prepare national team for their big game – Produce Sound Studio 2018)
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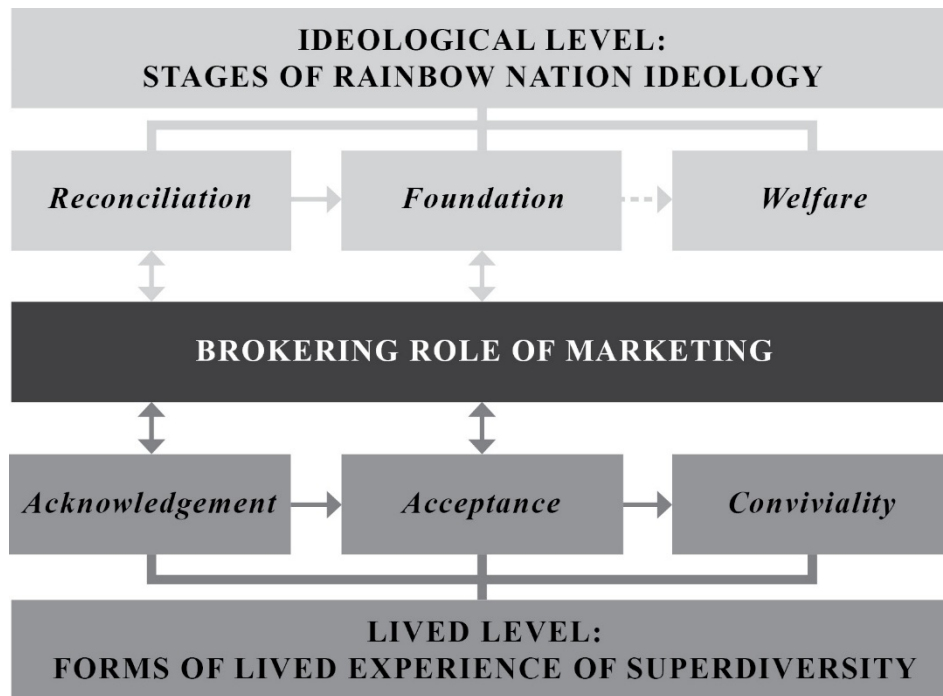


Figure 1: Expected Evolution of Marketing's Role in Brokering Intercultural Relations in South Africa



Figure 2: MTN *Ayoba* (Coloribus 2018e)



Figure 3: Mutual & Federal *Protection* (Honeymoon Studios 2014)



Figure 4: Absa *Team of Millions* (Coloribus 2018a)



Figure 5: FNB *You Need a Bank That's All Things to You* (FNB SA 2016)



Figure 6: FNB *The Helpers* (Produce Sound Studio 2018)



Figure 7: Sanlam *R1 Man* (Coloribus 2018)

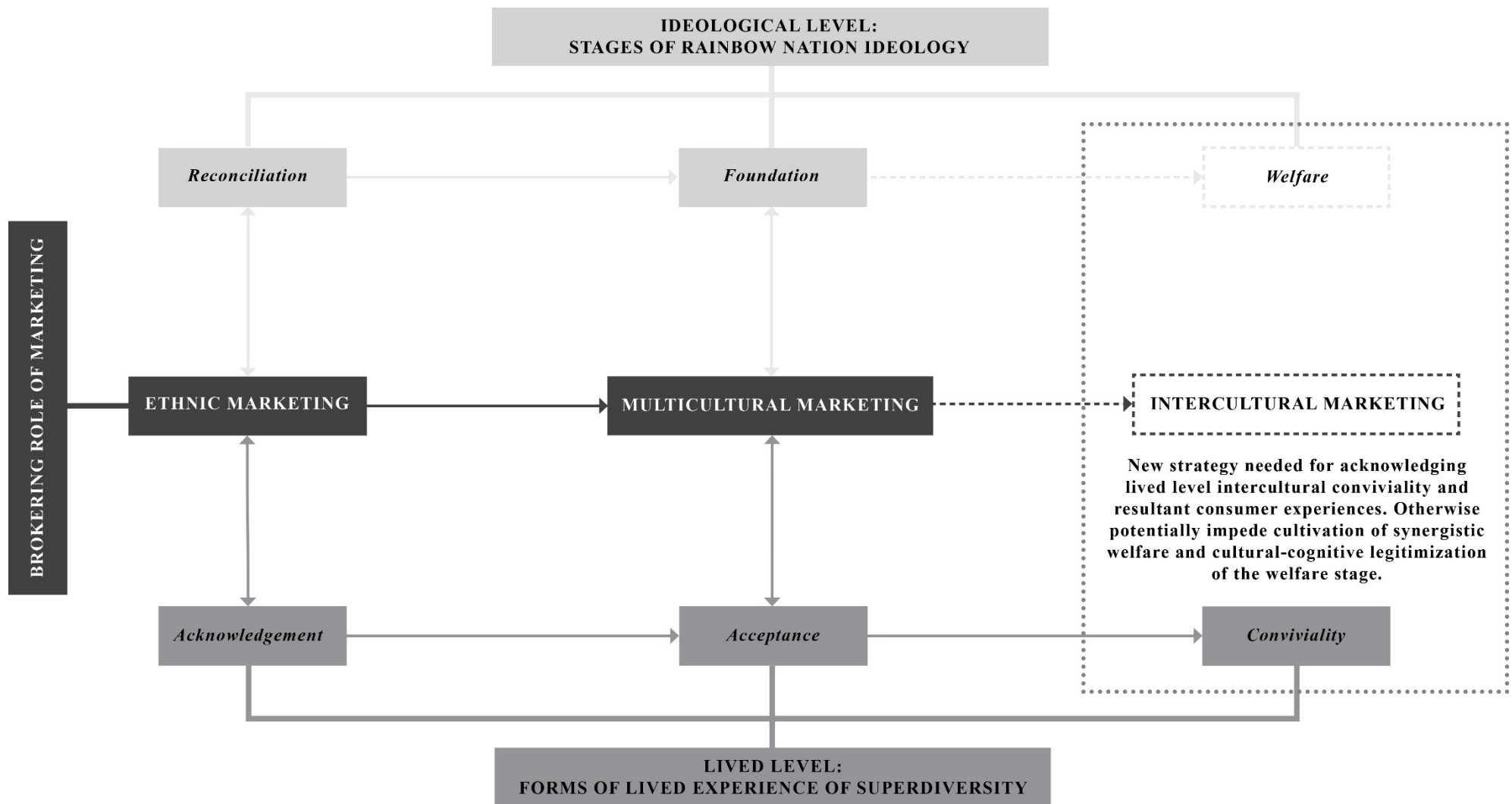


Figure 8: Analytical Map of Marketing Strategy Evolution for Superdiverse Societies